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All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper, or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

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Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each *renewed subscriber, except in the case of clubs.*

A club of three subscribers, any of whom may be an old one, at $6, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* for three months; of five, two of whom may be old ones, at $8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten, five of whom may be old ones, at $15, to a copy for one year.

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NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE LETTER I.

BY LUCY LARCOM.

Child, how cagerly you look
From your dog's-eared spelling-book.
Why so glad and smiling? Why?
"See—I've learned the letter I!"

Child, you're not the first one yet,
That, of all the alphabet,
Chose that letter for his task,
Nor for deeper love would ask.

Many an older child you'll find,
Who, to sit with I, is blind.
Tis as if that character
Stared upon him everywhere.

In each heart's unfolding book,
First for I he's sure to look,
Dreading anywhere to see
Such a denominative as *We*.

Labor will not be to spoil;
Better learn one letter well.
So that beautiful, great I
Sprouds, and covers earth and sky,

And its gilded shape is cast
On the future, grand and vast;
While the playful alphabet
Lies forgotten under it.

Poet or philosopher,
King or simple commoner,
He may be, who only looks
For the I in all his books.

But, whate'er that poet's rhyme,
All his thoughts to self will chime.
Such as fill children's find
Only Gulliver reclined.

Meanest of philosophy
Is the ego-sophistry,
Cutting the Eternal plan
To the measure of a man.

And the son of humble life
Thus is cursed for daily strife.
Joy expires, and Peace *will fly*
At the step of tyrant I.

Grown-up children, further turn!
In life's book there's much to learn.
Would you see where I belongs?
Read about your brother's wrongs.

Read the hopes his soul that move—
Spell the names of Truth and Love!
Students of the letter I,
Once a worthier lesson try.

For the National Era.

A BROTHER'S RECOLLECTION OF AN ONLY SISTER.

BY MARY IRVING.

CHAP. III.

There was no alternative. The poor shattered wreck of the mother, that had been so dear, must be, for her own sake and the sake of society, consigned to the refuge provided for the living body that has thrown off its allegiance to Reason!

I drove to D——, the following evening, taking advantage of the weakness into which exhaustion from the unnatural struggles of the preceding night had thrown my unhappy charge. She lay on a sofa, the vacuum of her mind, with vacancy written on the face the soul had been wont to light up so beautifully, quiet, though melancholy. The child upon my knee, fortunately, was not the cloud that was gathered to burst over her own golden head. She had shed all her tears of terror and of grief for the home that she had lost, for the time, behind the primer, and pictured geography, which had been the prey of the flames. The rescue of her pet kitten had comforted her for the loss of all fleecy and silken downs to wrap it in the folds of her white night-dress, lest "it should catch cold," she had been a calm spectator of the conflagration. Children have such a store of sunshine!

"So they call you 'Eulalie'?" said I, lifting one of her light curls into the sunshine, that yet streamed through the western window of the carriage.

"Not when they *love* me!" she answered, with an arch lifting of her eye-lids. "I have three names; 'Eulalie' is only when I am good; when I am a little naughty, I am 'Eulalie,' and when I am a *great deal* naughty, I am 'Estelle' (pronounced Estell)."

I could not help smiling at the child's nice discrimination.

"To-day, then, it is 'Lulie,' I am to suppose; but for whom where you named?"

"For my biggest of aunts!"

"How?"

"I don't know exactly *how* big; but she was *great-great*; oh, mamma!"

"Oh look, look, mamma!" she presently exclaimed, as we passed an extensive and beautiful garden, which a wood crowned.

The dreamer aroused herself sufficiently to recognise a landmark of our rides, in the olden days of luxury.

"Poor, poor home," she murmured, sinking back. "Don't fret, little Lulie! Eben and little Ralph will be there to pick all the roses for your new home!"

"Mamma!" said the little one, straining her eyes in a vain attempt to comprehend her, "it makes me *feel asleep* to hear you talk!"

It had grown quite dark when we entered D——. Gas-lights and brilliant illuminations were brilliant as noonday. Hushing, by an involuntary motion, my little sister's outbreaks of delight, I was about to ask her whether she had nerved my spirits for the new rtrngde that was at hand. I had told the coachman *where* to drive.

The heavy shadows of a grove of pines and firs enshrouded us, as we turned from the noisy pavement upon the soft turf of the asylum grounds. As we passed up the long passage, I lifted my bewildered parent from the carriage, and bore her up the steps, before she was aware of my intention.

"Where *is* home?" she indignantly exclaimed, glancing about, and starting back from me.

"What! go home without stopping at a hotel first? What are you thinking of?" said I, assuming an air of authority. "Sit down, while I go and speak to the bar-keeper!"

"Mamma, are you going to leave me a burned up, except the *down cellar?*" cried Lulie.

I sought the superintending physician, whom I had well known in my boyhood, and told a hurried story, which ended with, "He was a man whose kindness and wisdom in that peculiar and painful branch of his profession, with which the public had charged him, had been tested by years of duty; and my confidence in his opinion and aid had brought me thither.

He commanded my decision and promptness, but shook his head ominously, as I recounted her symptoms.

"Bad—bad! But there is hope; you have done the best thing possible! The child must not be taken from her immediately, however!"

"I suppose so!" I responded, with a heavy sigh for mother and child.

"Such a delicate organisation as hers," pursued Dr. G., "must suffer from contact with a mind out of tune. If anything of hereditary insanity in your young family—which Heaven forbid!—association with her mother would foster it most fearfully. In any case, her ideas of right and wrong, falsehood and truth, would be most irrevocably warped and distorted. I advise *entire* separation while this cloud rests upon your mother's mind; to meet occasionally would only harrow the feelings of both, and throw an obstacle in the way of the patient's restoration."

"Come with me, mother!" said I, steadily, drawing her hand within my arm, on returning to the hall. She wrested it from me, and darted upon my face a look of the suspicion which is always so easily aroused in the insane.

"No matter! I will take Lulie the room; good night!" I said, taking the tearful child up in my arms, and carrying her forward, with a look of reproach turned upon the mother.

The maternal instinct was stronger than suspicion, and she followed.

"Oh, God forgive me! to what I am luring the only idols this poor child has, mother!" my bleeding heart. I dared not listen to it, but pressed the child closer there. After threading several passages, we reached the door of the ward—the bar that excluded from the outer world those whom Heaven has unfitted for its cares and duties.

It had been arranged, in order to avoid harsh measures, that I should withdraw the child, if possible, without her notice, while Dr. G., from behind, clipped a heavy bolt between us.

I felt my cold lips tremble, and my eyes swim with giddiness, as I turned to execute the last stroke of the agonizing scene.

She stood with hands half-folded, bonnet flung back, and black hair hanging in matted masses over her sallow face. Her eyes, of old so beautifully translucent, were lighted up with a glow which returned with every evening. Restlessly they wandered over wall and furniture. Now was my moment; she would soon be unmanageable.

"I have brought your rocking-chair, mother; sit down;" and I led her to the seat. Oh! what a farewell was that for a son! One quick, stealthy bound through the doorway—and the bolt shot between us with a grating sound! I darted not stay a moment to listen. I shudder ed at the sound of my own flying footsteps, as though an ague had stricken me!

"When will mamma come down?" was the oft-repeated question of the unconsciously bereaved child, as I sat rocking her before the fire, however, the quivering eyelids grew weighty, and forgot to start open at every sound; the head fell upon my shoulder in a heavy sleep. Thus mercifully unconscious, she was carried to the house of one who had been both friend and creditor of our father.

Her waking was agony to me, for I felt what must follow it! I buried myself in a recess of the room, leaving her in the charge of the kind lady who had welcomed us.

"Mamma! is mamma coming?"

"By and by!" was the delusive answer. "But it is sleeping time now; come and lie down in your own little bed, and when you wake up, perhaps"——

"No! no!"—she screamed, tearing herself away, and throwing herself upon the floor—"I want my mamma! I *will* have my mamma!"

Mother as she herself was, the lady stood motionless, with eyes fast filling, powerless to soothe the agitation that frenzied every fibre of that little creature's frame. I stepped forward, and she clung to me with a convulsive cry—

"Take me to mamma! I *can't* say my prayers! Mamma!"

I caught her hands, and looked firmly into her eyes.

"Eulalie! be still!"

It was spoken with crushing harshness, I know! I felt it had the intended effect; it stunned her for the moment into silence. Her eyes, glassy with terror, looked imploringly into mine.

"Lulie! listen to me; I tell you the truth! *You cannot go to your mother!* She is ill; and for her good, the Doctor has said that her little girl must not be taken away from her. You cannot understand *why*, until you are older. But crying will not bring her; be quiet! be my own brave little girl!"

For a long time her eyes kept their fixed gaze into mine; but a change gradually passed over them. Her hands dropped; her whole frame was still; then breathing seemed suspended. At last she turned. One convulsive sob came up, but was strangled. She laid her small hands together, and looked upward with a most touching look of desolation, yet of trust in Him to whom she had been taught to pray.

"Our Father who art in Heaven!" she began; and both the lady and myself knelt and heard her finish the prayer. She had finished the prayer the Saviour taught. Serenely it was repeated; she kissed me, and went to her little bed.

It was years before the child spoke her mother's name again!

I was notified, on the following morning, that a number of my deceased father's creditors would be convened at the house that evening, and prepared my accounts to lay before it.

They were formally examined by my host. He then took up the last bill, paid it, and receipted, and, glancing around the small assembly, gave it quietly into my hands. I opened it. It was a receipt in full, for services rendered, and for myself! Surprised and touched, I lifted my head to speak; but his hand was laid kindly on my shoulder.

"Will a moment, Lincoln! I have taken the liberty of sending for your young sister, as my friends here expressed a wish to see both the children of the late Mr. Lincoln."

He paused until my sister was brought in. In her mourning frock, with the pink sun-bonnet that had been thrown over her head for convenience, she looked like a fresh rose-bud in a blighted bank.

The old gentleman arose, and, lifting a napkin from a richly-chased pitcher and porringer of silver, addressed her:

"Why my biggest of aunts!"

"How?"

"I don't know exactly *how* big; but she was *great-great*; oh, mamma!"

"Oh look, look, mamma!" she presently exclaimed, as we passed an extensive and beautiful garden, which a wood crowned.

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For the National Era.

BELL SMITH ABROAD.

NO. XI.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S COOK.

DEAR FRIEND: We have been invited to the palace. We have been invited to all the palaces. I ought to give these facts in separate letters, so that you would have space to breathe, and know where to recover from the astonishment. I know we do not deserve this—it is too good for us—but when honors are thrust on one, it is not prudent to refuse them, lest they may never arrive again. Now, I do not propose to tax your credulity too far, by leaving you under the impression, that the "Emperor" has found us out, and invited us to come and pass a little time with his family, in a social, unostentatious way. By no manner of means; the truth is, I have come to believe that the Emperor is a mere glimpse—we are not on visiting terms, as we say at home—and, instead of being invited, he is simply summoned to drop in and stay a few days, on the same principle that the Tuileries, merely to look at the upholstery, were informed by a tall gentleman in white cravat, yesterday, showing that the room was quite impossible, as the Emperor and family were then its occupants. It was not much of a disappointment, for you are well aware I have no great love for royalty, and when the royal carriage drove to the entrance, I insisted upon our party remaining to see France on an airing. We did so, and had a delightful time waiting, for we withdrew to the railing, where a crowd of idlers were gathered, and peered through the bars. After a little while, Napoleon, accompanied by the Empress, made his appearance.

He is not the brightest specimen of a young man, appearance-wise, but I am fond of calling with a ratio disgusted with our conduct—we did not shout much. An Englishman near me gave some hearty *vivas*, very badly pronounced, indeed, it is quite evident that the Government knew, precisely, what sentiments John Bull was uttering. The tall man in white stockings, attended by a protestant chaplain, heard such vile music; what could her niece want with such? And when the old man, trembling in every limb, tottered into the room, leaning upon his staff, and began his address, more redundant than ever, the poor lady, who had a reasonable ear for music, and doted on the Negro, left the room, saying she could not certainly crazy. The companion of the beggar, who was the raggedest individual, with closecut hair, round bullet head, very erect, and apparently wide awake, stood at the outside cutside of the door. When the aunt, no longer hearing the music, abruptly returned, she was thunderstruck at seeing her niece sobbing in the arms of the mendicant.

There was quite a disturbance in the grand apartments at this moment. The niece fainted; the aunt screamed; the Lord Chamberlain in the concierge came to the rescue; Jean and his assistants were near; but all, in attempting to throw out the aged blind beggar, caught a tartar. That individual seemed peculiarly to regain his youth and strength; for he knocked the servants right and left, and as suddenly as he had disappeared, he was in sight; for while his assistant covered his retreat, he made his way out with great nimbleness and ease. It was very natural that he should leave his gray hairs behind, under the circumstances, and so he did, in the shape of a very fine specimen of a Parisian wig. Jean remarked, solemnly, as he bathed the old Footman's head with eau de toilette, that, for French beggars, the rascals had a remarkable knowledge of English boxing.

When one remembers the care with which young ladies are brought up at school, and adds to such custom the fact that, in this instance, the young girl had evinced a disposition to open her guardian's letters, the case will seem at once worth some to recall the days of romance. Jean seemed delighted with the adventure, and passed much time in relating it, with numerous additions and embellishments, to Nanette. But the strange adventure ceased in time to be so strange. The young beauty was not touched with Confucius, and was now scarcely ever from under the eye of her aunt—the sharp and thin duenna.

His Reverence, returning to something like health, resumed his usual occupations. As entertainments were so numerous, that Jean was at last fairly employed. He now had scarcely a word to throw to his beggar, and, at length, was forced to bring in an assistant. He took one before—a dull, placid youth, who seemed everlastingly to be walking in his sleep, and deeply ruminating on the past; and, at last, introduce Jean added his nephew. Quite a contrast, this one, to the former! He was eminently handsome, gay, and active, with a restless expression of face in his large, sparkling eyes, which told at once his near kin to Jean. But what this youth made up in beauty, he lost in heedlessness. He was always breaking something before entered a kitchen. He spoiled everything he touched, and broke everything he carried. More especially was the thin aunt worried. She had a fortune in china which, indeed, she lived, being entirely divested of native mastiodors, by which to use more solid ware; and it seemed as if this nephew, from never again to bless her lips. Sometimes it was burned, at others uncookcd, generally unpalatable; and, on one occasion, she was nearly poisoned by an unfortunate mistake in the sugar-dish

the cry of the poor and needy. Oh, Holy One! will thou not hear us? God of my mother! will thou not save me?"

God pity the poor heart, for *man* has little sympathy for the erring. And now, on this beautiful Christmas eve, while the bells are pealing out from every spire and tower to greet the day when the Holy One came to seek and save the "*last sheep* of the house of Israel," we pass unheeding by many an erring brother and sister, without so much as a gentle look to say, "Turn thou, poor wanderer." "Who will help them—God help us, *for much we lack*."

EMMA.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1854.

THE DAILY NATIONAL ERA.

Every person sending us a subscriber to the *Daily National Era*, shall have a copy of the *Weekly Era* for nine months.

Persons in cities or towns where there is a daily mail, will find it a great convenience to receive our Daily, containing, as it does, the latest Markets, Telegraphic Despatches, and reports of Congress.

We need hardly say, that, large as is our Weekly, we are obliged to leave out much that is published in the Daily.

We must again earnestly solicit our friends to increase the list of the Daily, as well as Weekly.

To our brethren of the Press, especially the Independent Democratic Press, we are deeply grateful for the generous, cordial manner in which they have urged and sustained our new enterprise; and we are under very heavy obligations to our voluntary agents for their continued exertions. Were it not for the burden we have assumed, we should shrink from urging them not to stay their efforts.

☞ Every person sending us five dollars for the *Daily Era*, from the 1st of February to the 1st of September, shall receive the Weekly, after the close of the Daily, till the 31st of December.

PROSPECTUS OF THE DAILY NATIONAL ERA.

I shall issue, on the 2d day of January ensuing, the DAILY NATIONAL ERA, a Political and Literary newspaper.

In *Politics*, it will advocate the Rights of Man, and the Equality of Rights, and oppose whatever violates or tends to violate them, whether that be involuntary Personal Servitude, Civil Despotism, Spiritual Absolutism, Class Legislation, the Selfishness of Capital, the Tyranny of Combination, the Oppression of a Majority, or the Exactions of a Party.

It will hold no fellowship with the Whig and Democratic *organizations*, believing that the main issues on which they have been arrayed against each other are obsolete or settled, and that they are now chiefly used by the Sectional Interest of Slavery, to impair the love of Liberty natural to the American mind, and to subjugate the American People to its service. Disclaiming all connection with them, it will sympathize with those of their adherents who are honestly seeking through them to advance the substantial interests of the country, although it must believe that they have not chosen the better way.

It will be a supporter of the Independent Democracy, which holds that the Truths of the Declaration of Independence are *practical*, that in their light the Constitution of the United States is to be interpreted, that to them the laws and institutions and usages of the country should be conformed—a Party, whose motto is, *Union*, not for the sake of Union, but for the sake of Freedom and Progress; and *Law*, not for the sake of Law, but for the Protection of Human Rights and Interests—the only sure foundation of order and concord.

In no sense will it be the organ of a Party, or a mere Party Paper, but absolutely "free and independent," claiming to speak "by authority" for nobody except its editor, and recognizing no authority in any quarter to prescribe its course and policy.

In *Literature*, it will aim to unite the Beautiful with the True, and to make both immediately subservient to the practical purposes of every-day life.

Able correspondents, at home and abroad, have been secured, and ample provision has been made for the Literary Department.

It will publish condensed reports of the proceedings of Congress, explain movements in that body, the causes of which do not always lie upon the surface, and from its position be enabled to keep a constant watch upon the action of the Federal Government in relation to all questions at issue between Liberty and Slavery.

The only journal at the seat of the Federal Government, representing the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the Republic, while the Pro-Slavery Sentiment is represented by four Daily papers, nearly all of them being liberally sustained by Governmental patronage, it asks the support of all who believe, in sincerity, that the *Union* was formed to secure the blessings of Liberty, and not to perpetuate the curse of Slavery.

Payment in advance is invariably required. To prevent annoyance and loss to ourselves and readers, to preserve files unbroken, and to enable us to know how large an edition of the paper to issue, all subscriptions should be paid before they expire. We have no credit-subscribers on our books.

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G. BAILEY.

P. S. Newspapers friendly to our enterprise will please notice or publish our Prospectus, as they may see proper.

THE TRICKSTERS AND THE DUPES.

The passage of the Compromise Measures of 1850 naturally allayed the general agitation that prevailed on questions of Slavery. The great majority of the People, who had been arrayed in support of Free Soil and Free Labor, seeing that the practical issues which had engaged their attention were disposed of, felt as if nothing more remained to be accomplished; what had been done they could not undo. Nobody proposed to repeal the Texas Boundary Bill, the acts for the formation of Territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico, for the admission of California, or for the prohibition of Slave Importation in the District of Columbia. All these were considered settled measures, so that the whole Territorial Question, which had produced the excitement, was withdrawn from politics. As to the declaration in relation to the admission of future States, it was well understood that that could be tested whenever the application should be made. Only one measure disturbed the general effect of the rest—the Fugitive Slave Law. This was an agitating measure—it continued to irritate the masses, although not deemed a sufficient cause for organized resistance, but at last consoling themselves with the idea that after all it would soon be regarded as little better than a dead letter, they became comparatively tranquil. Other interests took hold of their attention. Their feelings and thoughts began to flow in their accustomed channels; an indisposition grew up among them to recur to past controversies; they re-acted now against excitement.

Taking advantage of this state of the public mind, the politicians, in their National Conventions, a few months afterwards, at Baltimore, by cunningly contrived resolutions of acquiescence in what had been done, and pledges to resist all attempts to disturb it, committed the two old parties not only to inaction and inattention in all things pertaining to Slavery, but to positive antagonism to all movements designed to keep the public mind awake, and sensitive to its true nature and policy.

The Free or Independent Democracy, whose opposition to Slavery depends upon Principle, not Accident, is founded upon a clear and thorough understanding of the inherent and necessary *aggressiveness* of that Evil, not upon a mere temporary excitement against it, upon its extraordinary and exceptional exactions, were not to be lulled into security. They maintained their organization, denounced the deceptive action of the old parties, and admonished the People that no Compromise could secure them against such a disturbing force as Slavery—that no Compromise would remain quiet and only till the Public mind was so far progressed with other questions, that it might with impunity resume its schemes for universal domination.

Events have abundantly attested their sagacity. Hardly had the Democratic and Whig National Conventions, with their characteristic impotence to solve the Slave Power, ratified the Compromises, so called, and pledged themselves to stop all agitation, when news came from California that the Propagandists were covertly laboring to subvert its Constitution, with a view of opening the whole State to Slave labor or at least of dividing it, so as to make a Slave Territory out of its southern portion. Protract, and dangerous as the struggle was, and had there been no obstacle in their way but the force of Public Opinion on this side of the mountains, they would have succeeded.

Next followed a conspiracy for the acquisition of Cuba, constituted of heterogeneous materials, instigated by a variety of motives, but the predominant force of which was, a secret purpose to uphold Slavery in that island, and thereby to create a new stronghold of the Slave Interest in the United States. This Interest is not apt to make a parade of its purposes, when it can more efficiently pursue them under cover of other interests.

Still the People slept, narcotized by the Compromise of 1850.

Then were reached us of plottings in California to extend the area of freedom so as to embrace Lower California—to seize Sonora, a department of Mexico, appropriate its riches to the uses of Slavery, and through it to give a chance to the Slave Power, at least to divide with Freedom the empire of the Pacific. The denouement of this game has just been announced in the overthrow of Capt. Walker, his sham Republic, and his slave code of Louisiana.

Meantime, a grand idea possessed the public mind—the project of a National Highway to the Pacific, binding in indissoluble bands the two extremes of our vast empire. It was a work, fit to be done, necessary to be done, entering within the appropriate sphere of the General Government. But, all kinds of obstacles were interposed, and why? The same selfish, intriguing, grasping Interest, interposed with its sectional claims, and demanded that this Highway should be constructed, not along a central route, equally accessible to the different sections of the Union, and which had been demonstrated, safe and practicable, but that it should be run on a Southern course, having its eastern terminus in a great slaveholding city, with a view to throw the balance of Trade and Travel in the scale of Slavery!

Everywhere on the look-out to advance its power, it still kept a longing eye on Mexico. The controversy about the Mesilla Valley it has contrived to turn to its own purpose. Mr. Gadsden was sent Minister to Mexico to arrange all difficulties, and he returns with a Treaty which, it is stated, secures 39,000,000 of Mexican acres to the United States, on our South-western border, for which we are to pay $20,000,000—a capital price for wild lands! But, see the plain and palpable purpose of Slavery, and its partizans in the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* of January 18th—good authority. Having discussed the other stipulations of the Treaty, it says:

"Important as are these stipulations, they are of *infinite less consequence than the engagement for the cession of territory on the Rio Mesilla Valley* Under this article the United States acquire a *railway route south of the Gila, and a portion of the valuable province of Sonora, embracing territory sufficient for two or three States.*

"In return for those important concessions, the United States agree to pay $20,000,000—$5,000,000 of which are to be retained to compensate the claimants to the Tehuantepec route. We do not anticipate *no difficulties a disposition of the surplus in the Treasury.*

"Distinguishing merits of this treaty are, first, that it adjusts all the disputes between the United States and Mexico, and thus cements the amicable relations of the two Governments; secondly, that it removes every inducement to filibuster invasions of Mexican soil; thirdly, *that it secures the only and practicable route for a railway to the Pacific; and lastly, and chiefly, it gives the South a chance for planting slaves and negroes.*

"Such being the character and effect of the treaty which Mr. Gadsden has negotiated with the Mexican Government, we may safely anticipate its ratification, despite the resistance of the Abolitionists. An attempt will be made, as in the case of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to defeat it by fixing on its anti-Slavery provisions, and otherwise to embarrass its progress; but such are its great and manifest advantages, that we confidently expect its ratification without much delay or delay.

Two great triumphs for Slavery, in virtue of the blessed peace secured by the Compromise of 1850—a *Southern route for a railway*, and an area for *two or three more slave States!* How wicked the Free-Soilers are, to keep up agitation! What "a full and final settlement" was the Compromise of 1850, if all sectional What a keen-sighted tribe are the politicians of the North! How profound the sagacity, how magnificent the patriotism of her People! Those Baltimore platforms—how scarcely have they been adhered to by the Slave Interest and its minions!

Is it to be wondered at that a Tyrant, inflated with success, and after triumph, recalcitrant by the disorganization of the Opposition which once confronted it, by the officious alliance of Northern politicians, and the blind passivity of the Northern People, should in the year 1854 contemplate a scheme of aggrandizement, which in 1850 it had never dreamed of? Then, it admitted that the immense domain acquired from Mexico, by conquest, of 900,000 square miles, capable of being organized into an indefinite number of free States, was exempt from its grasp. So absolutely was the condition of the Territory fixed, that it bewed to the Law as to the decision of inexorable Fate. But in 1854, a Northern politician, outstripping its Southern supporters, bids it be of good cheer, for even this grand heritage of Freedom may yet fall under its domination. And now, most impudent, most indecent, most flagitious, of all its schemes! it coolly resolves to abrogate the Missouri Compromise, to break the faith of a "solemn contract," as it is styled, every part of which, so far as it concerns Slavery, has been faithfully fulfilled by the North, and to which its freedom rely nearly all that it gained by that "bargain." The leading slaveholders, with some respect for good faith, did not conceive this project—it was suggested by Northern politicians, who understand clearly enough that the SLAVE INTEREST, the aggressive Power resulting from the purposes, wishes, necessities and private interests of the *slaveholding class*, *must always control and shape the action of individual members of the class.*

Well—shall we submit to this last exaction? It is a part of the Compromise of 1850, is it, that the Slave Power shall say and do what it pleases, while we, the People, must put our hands on our mouths, and our mouths in the dust, and say nothing? The spirit of concession and forbearance requires us, does it, after having been smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, after having been robbed of our cloak to suffer the robber to take away our coat also? We have gone with our oppressor a mile, and broadly have our requisitions that we should go with him twain. Holy Compromises have given to Utah and New Mexico a Slave code, must bear in acquiescence, while they hand over to him five hundred thousand square miles more of Territory!

People of the North, Immigrants, who crowd our shores to find a shelter from Foreign Despotism, *Non-Slaveholders* of all sections, have you made up your minds to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," meekly doing political service for the slaveholders, as the negroes attend to his personal service?

We have done what we could to arouse you to a sense of the degradation to which it is proposed to subject you, we trust, not without some effect. Indications are appearing in all quarters of manful resistance.

CHIVALRY ILLUSTRATED.

Last winter, the majority of the Senate, at the dictation of the Power that rules this Government, excluded Messrs. Chase and Sumner, two of the most able lawyers and best-read men in that body, from any respectable positions on the Standing Committees, because they did not choose to fall down and worship the fetish which commands the homage of the dirvelling tribe of politicians.

The Democratic party, in the magnanimous conduct was such, that this year there was some hesitation at repeating the experiment. The Democratic Caucus, by an extraordinary effort of heroism, ventured so far as to provide for Mr. Chase, whose business habits and experience render his services on any committee invaluable, the Post Office, and to allow him, during sct, suffered Mr. Sumner to drop, although requested by the opposite Party to provide for him.

The constitution of the Select Committee on the Pacific Railroad affords another illustration of the ignoble spirit of sectionalism that reigns in the Senate. Soon after the commencement of the session, Mr. Chase submitted a resolution that the Committee on Roads and Canals, (of which he is a member) be instructed to inquire into the expediency of constructing a road from the western boundary of the Mississippi States to California—thus taking the initiative in that great work. Not long afterwards, he called up his resolution, and Mr. Dixon moved an amendment to it, (which was carried,) ordering a Select Committee on the subject. The resolution, as amended, passed. According to Parliamentary usage or courtesy, Mr. Chase was fairly entitled to the post of Chairman of the Select Committee; but, be longing to neither of the ruling party organizations, it was not surprising that the contemptible who should be disregarded, and Mr. Gwin be selected as Chairman. Still, it was the general expectation that he would be appointed a *member* of the Committee. This was absolutely required, not by courtesy, but by justice; for it was on his motion, after all projects in relation to a Pacific High way had failed in the last Congress, that a resolution was passed, authorizing the President to institute a series of explorations of the different routes proposed for the road, with a view of submitting whatever information might be collected to this Congress. Under that resolution, explorations have been actively going on, and a great mass of invaluable information has been obtained. Nor did Mr. Chase intermit his labors after the adjournment of Congress. He brought the subject before the People of the West, and his services were noticed in the most honorable manner by the Authorities and People of St. Louis.

In view of all this, and of the fact that he had taken the initiative in the business in the Senate this session, it was the duty of the Senate to have placed on the Select Committee. So thought the caucus that arranged the matter for the final decision of the Chair; but it will surprise the country when it shall learn that from this Select Committee, as named by Mr. Atchison, President *pro tem.* of the Senate, the able Senator from Ohio *has been excluded!* Here are the names:

Mr. GWIN, of California, Chairman.
Mr. BRIGHT of Indiana,
Mr. RUSK of Texas,
Mr. DOUGLAS of Illinois,
Mr. BELL of Tennessee,
Mr. EVERETT of Massachusetts,
Mr. SEWARD of New York,
Mr. GEYER of Missouri,*
Mr. BADGER of North Carolina—

Any one of whom could have been quite as well spared, a majority of whom could have been better spared, than the man who (since Mr. Benton's retirement from the Senate) thus far has devised the only measures in that body relating to the road, of any practical value.

Does any man imagine that, had Mr. Chase been his knee to the dark spirit of Slavery, he would have been thus proscribed? How long do the supporters of the "peculiar institution" think they can thus arrogate to themselves all honor and power? It has come to this, that a man must swear by negro slavery before he is considered entitled to political position, or even social equality.

For one, we reject the test, defy those who propose, and detest and scorn those who accept, it.

* The People of Missouri will appreciate Mr. Atchison's devotion to their interests, when they learn that the name of Mr. Geyer, whom sickness and absence will probably prevent from giving any attention to the business of the Committee, was substituted for that of Mr. Atchison, the known and active friend of the Central route.

RUTTERING THUNDER.

The People are beginning to awake. The heavy, single drops, and deep mutterings, which precede the tempest, are, already, falling ahead.

We extract below a stern warning to Representatives from Ohio, uttered, in due season, by the Sandusky *Daily Mirror*, a stanch Old Line Democratic sheet, to which they will do well to take heed. We are glad to know that an address to the people of that State, signed by the Senators and Representatives, is in circulation for signatures, and will appear on Monday.

But read the article from the *Mirror*:

"DOUGLAS'S NEBRASKA.—*Let no member of Congress vote for Douglas's bill for Territorial government in Nebraska. Defeat it, and a better return to Ohio—mark it!* Much as we desire the organization of Nebraska, we would rather wait until after another election for members of Congress, than have such a bill pass. How contemptible men do appear, when they resolve at Baltimore against agitation of the Slavery question, and then again at Washington, and open the pow-wow, anew. These clap-trap republicans must mean that they alone have the right to be let alone. Sacrificed, and nobody else. By such a course, Mr. Douglas may get himself elected to take care of the 140 slaves in Mississippi, but he can never reach the Presidency!"

THE CASE TRULY STATED.

The reader must excuse us, but on such a subject as that brought up by the Nebraska Bill and Report, we intend to restate and reiterate the Truth as it is.

All sorts of sophistry and falsehood are now resorted to, for the purpose of mystifying the People in regard to the Nebraska movement.

We, who oppose the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, are constantly remarked, were bitterly hostile to it in 1850. This is false. That Compromise was not under discussion in 1850; no party were arrayed for or against it. Nobody proposed to disturb it. What we did oppose was, a motion to form a new Compromise, by which the line agreed upon in 1820, viz. 36 deg. 30 min., should be extended to the Pacific ocean, with a provision that Slavery should not exist north, and the understanding that it should exist south of that line. This was the motion of Mr. Douglas; it proposed a new Compromise, not the reaffirmation of the old one. The Pro-Slavery part of the latter was a *fact accomplished*—the Anti-Slavery part remained to be accomplished. This new *all* measure proposed to be engrafted upon the larger portion of the Territory acquired from Mexico to Slavery, and also to abandon to the curse, the whole of whatever acquisitions we might thereafter make on this Continent, south of 36 deg. 30 min. A proposition so monstrous could not be tolerated even by the back politicians of the North.

Had such a attempt been made in 1850 to abrogate the Missouri Compromise, we should have resisted it for the same reason that we resist such an attempt now—because the *only part of it remaining to be fulfilled is what Freedom gained by it.* But this is the very reason why the Pro-Slavery Party now seek its abrogation. All that remains of it is a solemn provision without which Missouri could not have been admitted into the Union, that slavery shall be "*forever*" excluded from all the original Territory of Louisiana, north of 36 deg. 30 min, and *therefore* it must be repealed! This is the good faith of the Slave Power. This is the flagrant swindle it is scheming, under cover of the Nebraska movement!

Suppose this vast region of Nebraska had first been settled, and organized into free States, and that the settlement of the Territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. had been so delayed that its different portions were now for the first time to be brought under government, what an outcry would be raised in the South, should any representatives of the North deliberately attempt to establish Free instead of Slaveholding Institutions therein—and this, too, although no express provision, no faith plighted in words, could be appealed to against such a movement! Treachery! Punic Faith! Hypocrisy! would be thundered in the ears of the North, and we should scorn the rather than the Slave Power, to hesitate to deliberate on "the mode and measure of redress" for the foul wrongs inflicted on the South.

How much more atrocious the violation of good faith in the actual case submitted to us! The Union was shaken to its foundations in 1820—the friends of constitutional liberty had the majority, and they repeatedly refused to allow Missouri to come in as a Slave State, feeling then, as the Independent Democracy feels now, that the extension of Slavery, and the multiplication of Slave States, were not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. At last, by a combination of influences, which it is unnecessary now to specify, they agreed to the admission of Missouri as a Slave State, but only on condition that, thenceforth, there should be no Slavery "forever" in Territory north of the line so often named. And now, after having derived all the advantages from this compromise or covenant which they were entitled to, the Slavery men, with Mr. Douglas at their head, coolly propose to tear up the only stipulation in it in favor of Liberty, the only condition which reconciled the Anti-Slavery men to its passage!

This is honor, this is good faith, this is chivalry!

"THE CITIZEN."

We reprint a portion of the *Citizen's* article, copied into the *Era* a few days ago, for the purpose of a few additional comments:

"We are not Abolitionists—no more Abolitionists than Moses, or Socrates, or Jesus Christ. We deny that it is a crime, or wrong, or even a *pecadillo*, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion.

"By your silence,' says Mr. Haughton, 'you will become a participator in their wrongs.' But we will not. We will not organize mobs for speech; and, as for being a participator in the wrongs, *see, for our part, wish we had a good plantation, well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama.* There, now—is Mr. Haughton content?

"What right has he to call upon Mr. Mitchel, the moment he sets his foot in Ireland, to begin a crusade for a cause which, as Mr. Haughton knows, was always distasteful to him in Ireland? Are we to ask Frank, that we should do this thing—that we should take up (whether we will or not) Mr. Haughton's outcry against Nineveh, that great city? Have we provoked out of the Irish Mitchel for this?

These remarks are said to have been written by Mr. Mitchel, co-editor of the paper, one of the Irish patriots who have recently escaped from exile in Van Diemen's Land, and found refuge in this country. That they are flippant, vulgar, and inhuman, even well-bred slaveholders admit. They stamp his pretensions to patriotism and love of liberty, with impeerley. All his declamation in Ireland against oppression, was the offspring of selfishness, not principle.

When a man resists a Tyranny attempted against himself, he simply does his duty; he deserves no more praise for his conduct than the Irish peasant who himself from drowning, or burning, or starving. He acts from an instinct of self-preservation. When he unites with others in resistance against a Tyranny weighing them all down, the same instinct is at work, but other motives are superadded—such as fondness for excitement, envy of superiority, ambition for distinction, indignation against injustice, sympathy with associates in adversity. All of these, by operating, and by the result of the mixed forces is, what is ordinarily called patriotism, which approaches pure selfishness, or noble disinterestedness, just as the selfish or the social motives may have the ascendency.

The highest form of Patriotism is that in which its resistance to Tyranny is dictated and regulated by a sense of duty, and by a moral grievance as by a sense of stern justice—when the patriot demauds equal rights and equal laws, not, chiefly, because *he* is to be the gainer, but because *Justice* demands their recognition, and his countrymen and mankind are to be benefited. This was the Patriotism, in an honorable degree, of many of the Revolutionary Fathers of this country, who, when they asserted the independence of Great Britain, felt the fundamental ground of natural rights, saw the inconsistency of Slavery, and instituted at once a system of policy for its limitation and extinction. This was the patriotism, to a certain extent, of the French People, when they dethroned Louis Philippe and established a Republic. They were fully conscious of their enfranchisement, they gave freedom to their colonists, who had been suffering under a worse Despotism than that which afflicted them.

This is not the patriotism of the "*Citizen*" editor. It has no element of humanity in it. The fact that he shamelessly sanctions a system which strips human beings of every political right, and subjects to perpetual social degradation, and leaves them not a single natural right, save that of life, and even that without adequate legal security; and that, according to his own account, he would, if he could, become an actual participator in the Despotism created by such a system, demonstrates, conclusively, that his opposition, in Ireland, to Tyranny was simply a struggle for the mastery. It is impossible that such a man can believe in the doctrine of Natural Rights, in Humanity, in Democracy. He cannot be a *just* man, a sincere hater of oppression, a friend of mankind. Let him be assured that he has brought his brutality and blasphemy to the wrong market. Intelligent Americans generally have no parade of devotion to Slavery, but plead for it as, under existing circumstances, the only relation in which two different races can co-exist; and those who are designated as their special friends at the North, wish them simply to remain undisturbed by discussion and protest. The passion aroused by this brawler for Slavery in Ireland by flogging negroes in America, will nauseate both classes. The *Albany Register*, a conservative Whig paper, devoted to the Compromises, and opposed to Abolitionism, says of the "*Citizen*" article:

"This is a bad beginning for a man who claims to have suffered so largely in the cause of human freedom. It is a bad exhibition of taste. This flippant and irreverent use of the Redeemer's name savors of blasphemy, and will be thought by many wrong and malign. Flogging slaves,' argues against the editors' notions of human rights in the abstract, or as a matter of principle. We are as far as most men from advocating whipping as the best way of carrying the Constitution full scope, and carrying out, frankly and perfectly, all its provisions. Whipping is objectionable in this form, but when we see the 'Patriot Mitchel,' as a matter of choice, advocating the buying and selling and the flogging of slaves, and hear the reason that he will not 'trouble' to engage in the traffic, we cannot but think the title conferred upon him is an utter misnomer, and that he is not more faithful to call him 'Mitchel the demagogue,' or the tyrant."

No less disgusted are the foreign Democrats among us. "*Le Republicain*," a French journal published in New York, rebukes him sharply, and prints a long letter to Mr. Mitchel, from ALEXANDRE HOLINSKY, reproaching him with his shameless inconsistency, and denouncing his sentiments as anti-Christian, anti-Catholic, and anti-Democratic, as mortifying to the Liberalists of the Old World, as they are to "Democrats of divers nations" in New York.

A word as to the department of strangers in relation to this Question of Slavery. We can easily understand why a foreigner coming to settle among us, whatever devotion to Freedom he may have shown in other struggles, may shrink from taking any active or prominent part in our controversies on this subject. A certain reserve becomes him in the earlier stages of citizenship, on questions arraying sections of the Union against each other. It is not to be expected that he can understand their nature and bearings, at first, and premature action may be as unwise as it would appear officious. But one thing we have a right to expect from him, and that is, that he shall frankly maintain here the *Principles* to which he has signified his devotion abroad, and that he shall studiously avoid giving any countenance to any form of Oppression in his new home.

In both these respects, Mr. Mitchel has not only lamentably failed, but with indecent haste, officious zeal, and in vulgar terms, he volunteers his support to a system of political and social Despotism, which three-fourths of the People of his adopted country regard with aversion, and the most reasonable and candid of all of whom have given him toleration for only as a necessary evil.

THE ALBANY ATLAS AND "THE ORGAN"—STRANGE CONJUNCTION.

When the Barnburners or Radical Democrats of New York *acquiesced* in the Compromise Measures of 1850, and agreed to support the *status quo* of the Territory, as left by the Compromise of 1820 and of 1850[1]?

O, for frank, plain, manly, straightforward dealing in our politics! We saw, the moment the deceptive bill was introduced, that it would afford shelter to dodgers—to politicians, on one hand afraid of their Party and of Slavery, on the other, of their constituents. Slavery would be satisfied by the indirect repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the country would be appeased by the statement that there was no clause in the Bill positively and formally repealing it. It is the old game of dodge and deceit, in which the North always gets cheated. The *Atlas* was keen enough in 1848 to expose the game and hold the gamesters up to contempt; will it suffer itself and its associates to be thus wicked and silly? It is of great importance to preserve free, the old Territory of the Union, consecrated to Liberty for the last thirty-three years, with its immense capacities for sustaining a free-labor population, as it was to keep Slavery out of the new Territory acquired from Mexico! In this more flagrant and outrageous conspiracy of the Slave Power to establish national empire, we can hardly believe that it will abandon its old faith, and place itself under the guidance of such a paper as "the organ."

THE LAST ARTIFICE.

Bear it in mind, that from the time the bill of Mr. Douglas was reported, it was assumed by the Southern Press, and by Northern journals under the influence of the South, to *set aside the Missouri Compromise*, until Friday, January 20th, when "the organ," in a leader, combodying, it is supposed, the revised views of the Administration, made the following announcement:

"It will be remembered that the bill, as proposed to be amended by Mr. Douglas, re-enacts and applies to Nebraska the clause on Slavery adopted in the Compromise of 1850. *That clause is silent as to the question of Slavery during the Territorial condition of the inhabitants*, but expressly recognizes and asserts their right to regulate it when they come to form a State, either with without the institution of Slavery, as they may determine in their Constitutions."

The Administration hopes, by this announcement, which flatly contradicts the assumptions which run through the editorials of "the organ" on the subject up to Friday, to gain for the bill the undivided support of the Democratic Representatives from the three great States, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. They can send home to their constituents the *Union*, containing an authoritative declaration, sanctioned by the Administration, that the clause relating to Slavery is "silent as to the question of Slavery during the Territorial condition of the inhabitants"—thus leaving, they will add, the Missouri Compromise in full force in the Territory. So, you see, dear People, they will argue, that the clause, after all the clamor of the agitators, only asserts a right which you yourselves have never questioned—a right of the People to form and regulate, the bill of Mr. Douglas has much that is good in it, but the spirit in which it has been conceted is objectionable. It is cracked up here as something which is "to catch" and "trip up" those whom his friends imagine to be in his way for '56. I do not believe that there are many in the way of Douglas, who will make his chances for the Presidential nomination less than they now are."

It is impossible to predict the fate of this miserable Bill. Members of Congress have not yet matured their opinions or plans. Mr. DIXON, of Kentucky, has introduced an amendment, providing in express terms for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in relation to Nebraska, as if he were not anti-fied with the indirect way in which the Bill secures the repeal. This may be a mere ruse to meet, in advance, an amendment proposing to reaffirm the Compromise, thus giving the managers of the bill the opportunity to vote down what its opponents represent the extreme opinions of the Union, the bill is a fair compromise between the two, being conceived in the spirit of mutual concession.

The Texas Senators, it is said, will contest the organization of the Territory at every step, not on the merits of the Bill, but purely from sectional motives. The Legislature of Texas, their schemes for a Southern route for the Pacific Railroad have probably a great deal more to do with their policy in this matter.

Mr. Everett and the Webster Whigs in both Houses of Congress, it is reported, will oppose the Bill. What will be the course of such Senators as Messrs. Pearce and Clayton, is a matter of conjecture. The Administration must represent the extreme opinions of the Union, the bill is a fair compromise between the two, being conceived in the spirit of mutual concession.

In some of the newspapers is a statement that only four members of the Committee on Territories in the House are favorable to the Bill as reported. Mr. ORR, of South Carolina, will oppose it.

We know that in both Houses several stanch Democrats, supporters of the Administration, are pledged to resist the passage of the Bill, and they will probably be headed by Colonel BENTON.

Meantime, let the People speak out. They seem to have become wearied with agitation, but Demagoguism, ever thrusting this question of Slavery upon them, gives them no rest. Let them shake off their lethargy, awake to the true state of affairs, hold meetings, and roll in their memorials, admonishing their Representatives and Senators to beware how they support a measure which will open the flood-gate of Slavery upon them, gives them no rest. Let them shake off their lethargy, awake to the true state of affairs, hold meetings, and roll in their memorials, admonishing their Representatives and Senators to beware how they support a measure which will open the flood-gate of confidence of his Government. But as a member, for many years, of the social community of Washington, we may well remark that the relations of neighbor and friend, and husband and father, were by him sustained in the most exemplary manner, and that his departure from our midst will be long and deeply mourned.

[1] More than 500,000 religious tracts have been distributed lately in Ireland.

PARTY TACTICS.

Had there been a sincere desire on the part of leading Northern politicians to organize Nebraska under a Territorial Government, it could easily have been accomplished. The bill that was carried through the last House of Representatives, by an overwhelming vote, and without a single word of reference to the Slavery Question, might have been brought forward again, and it would have passed both Houses without much opposition.

But, this Slavery question has always been used as a foot-ball by politicians, and always will be. North and South they know the feelings it arouses, the combinations to which it leads, the embarrassments in which it is apt to involve ambitious men, aspiring to Presidential honors.

Were the authors of the Report and Bill on Nebraska blind to the consequences of their movement? Did they not clearly understand that it involved the re-agitation of the Slavery Question, in all its forms? Did they not foresee that it would bring up for discussion the old questions touching the power of Congress over Territory and Territorial Slavery, the right of the People of a Territory to legislate on Slavery, without Congressional restriction, the doctrines of the Nicholson Letter, the Ordinance of 1787, the Missouri Compromise, &c., &c.? Did they not foresee that General Cass would be forced again to defend his old dogma against Senator Mason and other Southern Senators, concerning the right of the People of a Territory to legislate on Slavery independence of Congress? Did they not foresee that amendments would be moved on one side, to put beyond all doubt the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and on the other, to secure its reaffirmation? Did they not foresee what divisions the controversy would inevitably lead to in the ranks of the supporters of the Administration, and how many unfortunate Presidential aspirants would be reduced into fatal committals?

The *Union* seems to be entirely satisfied with the movement, but the special correspondent of the *Richmond Enquirer* speaks in doubtful terms of its wisdom. He is evidently under the impression that the peculiar shape it has assumed is the result of political management for political ends. He says:

"Mr. Douglas's Nebraska bill is not deemed entirely satisfactory. The organization of the territory south of Nebraska should be provided for at the same time. The Union is there is a discrepancy between the bill and the report. It will be scrutinized closely, and there is a disposition to require the Senate to deal fairly with the rights of all. The bill was prepared somewhat hastily. It is considered a big bid of the 'little giant' for the Presidency. It is also looked upon as getting a Democratic test to the sincerity of the professions of all as to their adhesion to the Compromise Measures. In this respect is the thing objectionable. A bit at the Administration or at its friends, or at the prominent men who opposed the Compromise Measures, may be very adroit and skilful, but in view of the pledge of all parties not to re-open the past, or to go behind the platform of Baltimore, it is a violation in spirit of the agreement and pledge of the Democracy to allow the bill of Mr. Douglas has much that is good in it, but the spirit in which it has been conceted is objectionable. It is cracked up here as something which is 'to catch' and 'trip up' those whom his friends imagine to be in his way for '56. I do not believe that there are many in the way of Douglas, who will make his chances for the Presidential nomination less than they now are."

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THE SONORA EXPEDITION—PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

A proclamation from the President appeared in the *Union* yesterday, denouncing the lawlessness of the late attempts made upon Sonora by American citizens, and announcing his purpose to enforce the laws for their suppression. This is like ringing the alarm-bell after the fire has been put out. Captain Walker made his descent upon a province of Mexico, some time since. Recruiting stations were opened in San Francisco. Large parties of citizens, duly destined to aid him, marched openly through the streets. Two or three expeditions sailed from the port. The sham Republic was set up, put down, and the buccaneers put to flight. A week ago, the newspapers contained full particulars of all these things. And now, at this late date, for the first time we have a President's Proclamation against the freebooters. Was the President ignorant of the movements in California? Are the United States marshals and attorneys and collectors on the Pacific all asleep? Could they not see what was going on under their eyes? Did they withhold information from the Executive? In similar cases heretofore, the Government has had full knowledge of every material proceeding, before the People generally have been apprised of them; but in this case our President seems to have been kept in the dark for a month after the occurrences, and a week after the full disclosure of them!

In the Senate, yesterday, a resolution was offered by Mr. Gwin, calling upon the President for information concerning the amount of the naval force in the Pacific; and, in the course of some remarks upon it, he expressed the opinion that the Proclamation came too late. The Senator, however, in his desire to manifest his fidelity as a representative of California, not without an eye, we presume, to the chances of a re-election, rather overdoes the zeal. He seems to think that all the lands of the Mexicans were so goodly and tempting, the administration of law in California so lax, and that daring adventurers so abounded there, that it was impossible to restrain these lawless expeditions without the presence and active interposition of a strong naval force.

Mr. Pettit, of Indiana, a brother Democrat, who has a keen scent for a blunder, whether in friend or foe, thought the defence set up by the Senator for his constituents quite unique:

"He, in effect, says that if you will surround his constituents with bolts and bars, with war steamers, with soldiers with muskets in their hands, they will cease stealing and marauding; that they will be honest, forsooth, if you will compel them to be honest. He would not trust the honest settler such circumstances? Why, sir, he says there are inviting fields of gold, rich mineral wealth, and broad acres that are desirable to the eye, there. Where are such not to be found? And he says that his constituents, intelligent, and worthy, and peaceable as they are, or as he would wish them to be, and are, cannot withstand their own greedy, grasping appetites to appropriate that which belongs to their neighbors, unless you surround them with a wall. They are constitutionally so weak they ought to be proud of, however proud he may be."

Mr. Pettit, we presume, was under some apprehension that the remarks of Mr. Gwin would not promote his re-election.

But the truth is, this buccaneering spirit is not confined to California. There are adventurers, "manifest destiny" men, all over the United States; and it is the special duty of the Federal Government, not of the individual States, to restrain them from the violation of our Neutrality Laws, and from outrages upon the rights of foreign nations. Relying upon the President's reliance upon the *moral sentiment* of the People, that delayed any action on his part, till such outrages had been committed and promptly punished by the Mexican authorities. For the honor of the Republic, we hope he will be more vigilant and prompt hereafter.

The proclamation of the President will be found in another column.

DODGING AGAIN.

"The organ" is like the weather—to-day warm, to-morrow cold—the wind now blowing from the South, then, from the North. The comparison fails in one point—the weather is sometimes clear—"the organ" is always cloudy. Friday, the "dodgers" from Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, were delighted with an article, one column long, authoritative, semi-official, we judge, from internal evidence, announcing that the Bill of Mr. Douglas was "silent as to the question of Slavery in the Territories during the territorial condition of the inhabitants"—that it "leaves that question where it was still in force, and imposed "an honorary obligation," which it was willing "to abide by faithfully"—that a clause repealing it would have been more "in consonance with its wishes," but that the good to be gained by such a movement, was, perhaps, less than the evil that might result from agitation. All this was intended to conciliate the Representatives from the North, anxious for a pretext, to the support of the Bill, and to furnish them a deceptive justification before their constituents, who, we doubt not, have been duly supplied with that number of "the organ."

So the wind set last Friday; Saturday, there was a lull; Sunday, it hauled round to precisely the opposite point of the compass! In an editorial, three times long, "the organ" now congratulates the Democracy, on Sunday morning, that the Bill of Mr. Douglas establishes in Nebraska the principles of "Congressional non-intervention"—invests the People of the Territory, in their Territorial condition, with the right of deciding for themselves on the question of Slavery, and "as necessarily secures to the inhabitants the right to emigrate to such Territory, and to enjoy their rights, whether of *person or property, unembarrassed by Congressional restrictions or prohibitions*"—that is, by the Congressional restriction of 1820, or any future restrictions from Congress—thus finally contradicting the editorial of Friday morning! "And what," it asks, "is there for us we to a zealous supporter of the Administration who had found great consolation in that editorial of Friday. "O, don't talk!" was his reply. He had given up all hope of consistency in "the organ."

We print the whole of Sunday's editorial. It holds that Slaveholders, should the Bill become Law, may emigrate to the Territory, with their "property," that the People of the *Territory* may set on the subject of Slavery "unembarrassed by Congressional restrictions or prohibitions," but that should any doubt exist on this point, it should be excluded by an additional provision—although last Friday the good to be obtained by such a provision was not, in the judgment, sufficient to compensate for the evil which would probably ensue!

How many copies of the last number of "the organ" have been sent home to the constituency?

[From the Union of Sunday.]

The Nebraska Question—Fidelity to the Compromise.—The settlement of the question involved in the Nebraska bill calls for the exercise of that spirit of conciliation and forbearance, on which alone sectional issues can be amicably and satisfactorily adjusted. It cannot be too constantly borne in mind by Democrats that they represent conservative opinions, who stand ready at all times to avail themselves of the discord and dissension which such issues are calculated to engender in our ranks. If to exhibit the wisdom which becomes our party on the present occasion, we will allow our old enemies, whether Whigs or Abolitionists, to take no benefit from the Nebraska question. That wisdom will be displayed in presenting an unbroken column in favor of adhering faithfully to the principles of the Compromise of 1850. We feel that every true Democrat will readily recognize this sentiment as our plighted faith, our party fealty, and our love of the Union, demand that the principles of this Compromise shall be recognized and affirmed in giving a Territorial Government to Nebraska. In the emphatic and patriotic language of Mr. Dean, we believe that all good Democrats, as well as the loyalty of the Administration in New York, "regard the Compromise of 1850 as a full and final settlement of the Slavery agitation in Congress, and that we are willing that the principles of that Compromise shall be applied to any new Territory that may be organized, whether it be Nebraska, Cuba, or Kansas."

The bill reported by Mr. Douglas challenges the support of every true Democrat, upon the ground that it re-enacts and re-affirms the principles of the Compromise of 1850. It declares that that Compromise was designed to be a final and permanent in its operation. It assumes, what cannot be controverted, that the true principles of the Compromise of 1850, so far as the question of Slavery in new Territories is involved, was the recognition of the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress. This principle, while necessarily leaves the question to the decision of those inhabiting the Territory, and is as unquestionably subject to the right of each to emigrate to such Territory, and to enjoy their rights, whether of person or property, unembarrassed by Congressional restrictions or prohibitions. In thus being the effect of the true principle of the Compromise of 1850, so far as the question of Slavery in new Territories is involved, was the recognition of the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress. This principle necessarily leaves the question to the decision of those inhabiting the Territory, and is as unquestionably subject to the right of each to emigrate to such Territory, and to enjoy their rights, whether of person or property, unembarrassed by Congressional restrictions or prohibitions. From this principle it follows that Congress ought to be perpetuated that no room for misconstruction should be left. By the Compromise of 1850, the Territories of Utah and New Mexico were created without any prohibition in the rights of person and property were subject only to the restrictions and limitations imposed by the Constitution of the United States. Like the acts giving Governments to these Territories. The same provision is made in Mr. Douglas's bill for Nebraska; or if it is doubtful whether the general principle is not so clear, every Democrat will readily see that a faithful adherence to the Compromise of 1850 requires that it should be done. We cannot wish to see it stand firmly united upon the principles of the Compromise. By this course alone can we avoid the agitation which our enemies are so anxious to create. Instead of yielding to the sets giving Governments to these Territories. The same provision is made in Mr. Douglas's bill for Nebraska; or if it is doubtful whether such

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

WHY IS IT?

BY MARY CLEMMER AMES.

Why is it that the hour of joy, so bright,
Is darkened with the the shadow of despair?
As when the summer heavens are by night,
And the green earth puts on her loveliest air,
The tempest cloud will rise with sudden gloom,
And make the world as dreary as a tomb.

Why is it, when we think that anger sleeps,
No more to waken in the peaceful breast,
One bitter taunt will stir its fiery deeps?
One keen reproach will rouse it from its rest?
And though we dreamed that we were near to heaven,
We still must weep and pray to be forgiven.

Why is it, when we think that we have won
A faithful heart that never will betray,
When we have found a friend in whom we can—
Why must we find our love all thrown away?
Learn, though we thought that all the world were true.
The bitter lesson, that true friends are few?

Why is it, when forgetful of its storms,
We will to rest on life's sunny seas?
When Hope's young rays have lighted up its brow and warm,
And heaven and earth beam with tranquility,
That sad feelings will come o'er the soul?
Of coming woe, which fill the soul with fear?

Why is it, when no shadow meets our sight,
When the soul soars upon exultant wing,
When all the future trembles with delight,
And all the senses in rapture sing,
That then, O Death! will lay our idols low,
And o'er their new-made graves we pour our woe?

Why is it? O, how often I have asked
Myself this question, when, with stern control,
To peaceful resignation I have tasked
My lonely heart, and deeply sighing soul!
And heavenly answers soothed my deep distress,
And robbed my anguish of its bitterness.

Why is it? O, these griefs are sent to woan
Our hearts from joys which they would love too well
Do they not point us to a world serene,
Where each immortals evermore may dwell;
And raise our thoughts above all human strife,
Unto a purer and a happier life?

ABORIGINES OF MEXICO.

An intelligent friend has been kind enough to translate for the *Era* a passage from a work entitled *Travels in Mexico*, by Carl Heller, a finely-educated young German, who went out with that country's scientific commission. While there, he made many curious observations on the aborigines of Mexico, to whom the following passage relates. It shows the havoc wrought by oppression among a people once distinguished for their civilization. The religion taught them by the Spaniards was so accommodated to their Pagan ideas, that they merely exchanged one form of idolatry for another. The great object was to break their spirit to submission and bondage, and this was effectually done by the machinery of Slavery. Oral instruction was allowed to them as to slaves, but to teach them to read and write was forbidden, on pain of death. But to the extract:

"In an excursion which he made from Mirador, a fortnight ago, he spent 24 leagues from Vera Cruz, he says, on reaching San Bartolo, 'When I reached there I was not a little astonished to find all the inhabitants of the village gathered at the church, of whom a number were clad in fantastic dresses, and wore black masks representing caricatures. Under these guises they had clothed their children, and fastened little bells, on the head was a straw hat richly ornamented with feathers, and in their hand they bore a wooden figure. The great children bore feet long, common in Mexico, and which is used for all sorts of work.') These persons were engaged, he states, in celebrating the feast of the Festival of the Conception of the Virgin (the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.) He adds, 'Immediately the masked persons arranged themselves, and they began their dance; at the head of them was a man who bore as a mark of distinction an old black crook (where he got it God know) and a wooden crown. The music commenced, consisting of a guitar and violin, with the usual fandango, on which all, with horrible grimaces, swinging their knives, began to spring about, and run among each other like madmen. At the end more like a dance than a church celebration, (it was the so-called 'Baile de Montesuma,') I mid the constant sound of bells, they finally brought out on a wooden litter a figure, which was meant to represent the Mother of the Saviour, but more resembled an Indian idol. Scarcely was this image brought out of the church, when the first dancers burst forth upon it as though they would destroy all, but immediately turned about, and with abundance of gesture and action. Behind them followed two men, who burnt incense in clay bowls; after them, two with rockets, which they knew how to make tolerably well, which were thrown among the people (though it was noon:) to these followed the litter, and a crowd of people singing horrible songs. After they had thus finished a circuit round the church once, there was a pause, which was executed by every dancer, and the holy ceremony was ended.

"In all this, therefore, they celebrate one of the greatest memorials of the Catholic religion in Mexico, though I to myself, while in astonishment I observed these Indians in their and careless dress, at first sight could not but here was a mixture of idolatry with the religious usages of our church, the authors of which were those who, by introduction, who are the means of gradually attaching the Mexican aborigines to themselves.

"I have often once been convinced that the Indians living in the remote villages, for these years, have as little correct idea of the Christian religion as they had before the conquest of the country by the Spaniards.

"In general, there is only too much occasion to observe the pitiable consequences of the early Spanish rule. With sorrow I must say it, we see that we were not concerned with work, gradually to estib every germ of what is good and noble in the people of Mexico, who had capacity for all that belongs to docility and polish, and to show that they were to drag them down to that condition in which they would be fitted for bondage. Instead of the old gods, their idols were changed, and the Spaniards gave them new images of saints, carved out of wood, without teaching them to know the true God; instead of an education of men, they began to teach them to read, write, on penalty of death, and thrust them into the deep caverns of the mines, where they pined away in a manner a thousand times worse of the Spaniards' rum. Only in this way can we explain it, that a people who, before the conquest of Mexico, stood at a high point of civilization, could sink down to the low degree of creature, of whom many might rather be joined to the first of beasts than the last of men. And to find again, in many districts, remains of that powerful stock, whose bodily structure, expression of face, bearing, and constant behaviour, remind us of that long-gone period.

"The number of the Indians, although melted away frightfully by the above-mentioned circumstances, is yet far larger than is supposed in Europe. Most of them are distinguished by a middle stature, dark-brown color, smooth hair, low forehead, and a great mouth, full of the most beautiful teeth. The muscles of their bodies are outwardly far less visible than with the Asiatic-European races; but an incredible power resides in them, which is evinced by the easy supply of muscular fibre from the blood. We have examples of dreadful wounds, which have been healed by the simple washing with water, which a European in such a case would have lost his life.

"The more susceptible, however, is their nervousness, an a nervous disease of no importance with a European, is connected with death with them. They live peaceably among themselves, are reserved with strangers, and, with all our efforts, we could not obtain from them the slightest historical foundation. But the reverence they ever pay the descendants of their Caciques clearly shows that they are acquainted with their history.

"Many of them belong to the swift runners which caused so much astonishment to the first conquerors. I have myself seen Indians with a burden of a hundred weight keep for a day long with a horse, and, thus loaded, they wander about in all weathers through the dangerous *barrancas*, and allow themselves to be employed for all sorts of work."

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

House of Representatives.

After our report closed on Monday,

Mr. Smith, of New York, submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

1st. Whereas all the members of the human family, notwithstanding all contrary enactments and arrangements, have, at all times and in all circumstances, as equal a right to the soil on which they live, to the air they breathe, and equal a natural need of the one as of the others; and whereas this invariably equal right to the soil leaves no room to buy, or sell, or give it away:

Resolved, therefore, That no bill or proposition should find any favor with Congress which implies the sale or gift of any portion of the public lands, or any part of them, either by sale or gift.

2d. *Resolved*, That the duty of civil government is to regulate the use and holding of all lands, is but to regulate the occupation of them; and that this regulation should ever proceed upon the principle that the right of no person to the means the great source of human subsistence—is as equal, as inherent, and as sacred, as the right to life itself.

3. *Resolved*, That whatever system will have done but little toward securing the equal right to land, until it shall have made essential to the validity of every claim to land the fact that it is actually occupied, and the fact that it does not exceed in quantity the maximum which it is the duty of Government to prescribe.

4th. *Resolved*, That it is not because land monopoly is the most efficient cause of inordinate and tyrannical riches on the one hand, and of degrading and abject poverty on the other, and that it is not because it is therefore the most efficient cause of that inequality of condition against which the voice of both Democracy and Christianity, that Government is called on to abolish it; but it is because the right, which this mighty agent of evil violates and tramples under foot, is the right to life—to certain, essential, natural rights which it is the province of Government to protect at all hazards, and at the respective of expenditure.

On motion by Mr. Hibbard, the preamble and resolutions were laid on the table.

Mr. McDougal, of California, in pursuance of notice, introduced a bill to provide for the establishment of a line of military posts and a common road; also, authorizing the construction of a telegraph line from the Mississippi to the bay of San Francisco; which was read twice, and referred to a special committee of thirteen.

The House adjourned.

Senate, January 17, 1854.

A large number of petitions of a private character were presented and referred.

Mr. Pratt, from the Judiciary Committee, to which an inquiry had been referred, made a report adverse to the constitutional power of submitting cause of action to arbitration as at common law.

A bill for the relief of Servis P. Willis, late the paymaster of the army, was reported and passed.

Mr. Cooper introduced a bill granting land to the State of Pennsylvania, to aid in the completion of the Sunbury and Erie Railroad, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. Weller thought this application for land for railroads came with a bad grace from Pennsylvania, when her citizens were now in open hostility to all communication by other States across her territory. Her officers were in open hostility to the laws, to the General Government, to the decrees of the State and Federal courts; they had imprisoned the United States marshal, the district attorney, and the judges of the United States court in the matter. They still continued their outrages, and carried on the work of destruction, by burning bridges, tearing and destroying property. This application came with a bad grace from Pennsylvania, until she had done something to put down these Erie rioters. He was for no land being appropriated to be no disposition to put down the rioters; but in Philadelphia and in other places a strong sympathy for them had been expressed. The Governor himself had written to them, expressing his sympathy for them. If the grant was to be made, he hoped it would be done with a condition that Pennsylvania would put down the rioters.

Mr. Cooper replied, contending that the true history of the Erie riots was not yet fully written; that when the true history of the matter was known, there would appear to have been insults and provocations towards the people of Erie, which, for the sake of peace, they had not resented. He thought that time would show that the aggravation and wrong were not on the part of the people of Erie, but of others. In saying this, he did not intend to say a word to encourage a spirit of resistance to the laws.

Mr. Wade said, if the people of Erie were right, it was not necessary for them to take the adjudicated the matter against them. But this rioting was not a new thing in Pennsylvania; the whiskey insurrections were instances of it. The bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, the question of Mr. Phelps's right to hold a seat in the Senate from Vermont was postponed to Tuesday next, in consequence of the illness and consequent absence of Mr. Phelps.

Mr. Everett introduced a bill for the relief of Captain A. Kollet; which was considered and passed.

Mr. Fitzpatrick submitted a resolution, directing an inquiry, by the Judiciary Committee, as to the expediency of providing by law for the allowances to be paid to the United States judicial officers in Alabama. A debate ensued, in which Mr. Fitzpatrick, in making the inquiry apply generally to the allowances to such officers in all the States, was discussed, and, after being amended in that particular, was adopted.

On motion by Mr. Mallory, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill for the relief of the Pensacola Navy Yard hospital at Saint Marks, Florida; and the bill was passed.

A bill for the relief of Charles Cooper and Company, of Bangor, Maine, a bill for the relief of James Dunning, a bill for the relief of Rebecca Freeman, and a bill to reimburse the corporation of Washington for moneys expended on account of the first regiment of New York volunteers, were severally considered and passed.

And then the Senate adjourned.

House of Representatives, Jan. 18, 1854.

A communication from the Superintendent of Public Printing was presented, giving an estimate of the cost of printing and paper for the year ending June 30, 1854; which, after some debate, was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

The House resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, presented yesterday by Mr. Parker, recommending the reference to a joint committee of the proposition of an amendment of the Constitution, in the mode of electing the President and Vice President of the United States, by which the People shall vote without the agency of electors; which was adopted.

Mr. Stanton, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a resolution, asking information of the Executive respecting the buildings used by the United States courts and the United States districts, and what is needed with reference to them.

In consideration of a bill for the relief of Col. Benjamin S. Roberts, of the United States army, occupied much of the time of the House, and was finally passed.

Mr. Ralph Wilkins, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the resolution providing for changing the mode of electing the President and Vice President of the United States, so as to permit the people to vote without the medistion of electors, made a report favoring the proposition, accompanied with a constitutional amendment for that purpose.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill granting land to the State of Illinois in aid of the construction of a railroad from Chicago to Cairo.

Mr. Richardson urged its immediate passage.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, and Mr. Fuller, also advocated the bill; but no action on the message was opposed by Mr. Smith, of Virginia, who did not approve of extending Federal patronage any further than was absolutely necessary, and thought California a quantum she would next be asked for, with all its expensive concomitants.

Mr. Disney, of Ohio, supported the pending motion, and argued the desirableness and necessity of the proposed bill, explaining how dependent such cities as Quincy are upon the great thoroughfare which they are now forced to import their foreign merchandise. The bill was finally put upon its passage, and passed.

The House then took up the bill yesterday reported from the Committee on the Whole, making an appropriation for the support of the Military Academy at West Point.

Mr. Smith, of New York, moved the appropriation, in an elaborate, earnest, and energetic speech. He believed in the progress of the human race, and deplored the existence of the spirit of war. It was a horrible thing, but a necessary one, and inconsistent with our character for civilization, and our professions of being guided by the principles of the Prince of Peace.

"My voice is still for war," were the words of a Roman and a Pagan two thousand years ago, and should not now be repeated.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, supported by Mr. Orr, who appealed to the Speaker to know if Mr. S. was in order, alleging that he was not speaking to the question of the appropriation.

The Chair decided Mr. S. to be in order, and he continued to recite the financial, moral, and religious arguments against the practice of war.

He said he would repudiate all war debts, and would count the idea that one generation has a right to burden future generations with debts. Such a doctrine was humiliating, but will never be happy or prosperous, unless it repudiate also.

A proposition for war, Mr. Smith urged, never prevents war, but is ever conducive to its realization. We need no army and navy schools. We need other schools, and for these he would vote liberally. He urged the necessity of a peace establishment. He argued that the most liberal, tolerant, and pacific features. He looked forward to the time in which international disputes will be settled by the mild and unpassing those men who, under circumstances that were enough to quail the stoutest heart, stood by the principles of the Union, and insisted that the people of each State and of each Territory should do what they themselves were doing at the North—govern themselves in their own domestic affairs, and by their own judgment? And now, in this short space of time, gentlemen from the South had already forgotten the noble party spirit of its patriots, who stood by them and nailed their colors to the mast at a time when the ship of State appeared to be upon the point of sinking!

Mr. C. then referred to the Seminole war, as some length the history of the "Hards" and "Softs," and narrated the leading acts of each branch which caused their separation.

When the bill was finally read, the House adjourned, Mr. Smith, of Alabama, having the floor.

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When the bill was finally read, the House adjourned, Mr. Smith, of Alabama, having the floor.

Senate, Jan. 19, 1854.

The Hon. Mr. Tousey appeared in his seat to-day.

Mr. Pettit submitted a resolution directing an inquiry by the Committee on Pensions, as to the propriety of extending the laws regulating the pensions of officers of the army and navy of the revolutionary soldiers, to the widows of soldiers of the war of 1812. He read a letter in which he said was given two excellent reasons for the extension. Our war with Great Britain was the school of being the wife of a soldier of 1812, was worthy of having a second husband; and that the second husband of a woman who had buried two husbands was worthy of being crowned. The resolution was adopted.

Mr. Weller presented the memorial of citizens of Philadelphia, remonstrating against the establishment of a mint of the United States in the city of New York.

Mr. Gwin submitted a resolution calling upon the President to inform the Senate what number of United States vessels of war are and have been employed on the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington; and whether the same be sufficient to prevent the setting-out of unlawful expeditions against foreign countries.

Mr. Gwin, in offering the resolution, referred to the President, published in the morning papers, in relation to the recent expedition of Walker from California against Mexico. He said that the citizens of California were not a lawless people. At the time of the first expedition the United States had no force on the coast sufficient to protect the people of California. A single ship with a single gun could have stopped it. The expedition consisted of a few score men, and passed without the least opposition.

This state of things seemed an invitation to lawless men, who could be found in all countries, to set on foot and fit out expeditions. As the President desired, as, by his proclamation, he seemed to do, to prevent these expeditions, he should have sufficient naval force there for that purpose. At the time of the Nicaragua expedition, there were but two vessels of war in the Pacific; one of these was at the Sandwich Islands, the other off Peru. At the time of the Walker expedition, second expedition was towed out by a steamship, and no vessel of war was there to prevent it.

Such expeditions would be started, unless a force was provided to prevent it. The President could not stop them by proclamation. A force was needed to prevent them. This force he provided and maintained. He had frequently urged that a steam revenue vessel should be kept there, but he had been answered that this would be too expensive. He strongly urged the increase of the naval and military forces on the Pacific. The rich mineral States adjoining California presented too strong a temptation to the lawless adventurers. Before he resisted, unless a sufficient force was there to prevent it.

Mr. Pettit said he had no objection to the inquiry; but he thought the defence offered by the Senator for the marauding and lawless expeditions of his constituents—that they were adventurers, by boldness, driven to desperation by soldiers with arms in hands, and thus prosecuted from going abroad and robbing and murdering—was a monstrous proposition. The argument would amount to this: that if their neighbors' doors were open, and goods and precious articles lay exposed, and no watch-dog or armed man there to guard them, they would enter and take them.

Mr. Gwin responded, denying that he had made any such defence of his constituents.

Mr. Shields contended that the Senator had charged the President with failing to place a force on that coast, when the Senator knew that a President had no such force there.

Mr. Badger maintained that the Executive was blameless in not providing naval forces to guard the coast, and the responsibility of the failure belonged to Congress. He was entirely out down all estimates for their army and navy.

Mr. Gwin replied, contending that the naval force had not been equally distributed.

Mr. Dawson followed, showing that Congress was responsible for the present inefficient army and naval forces of the country.

Mr. Mason contended that these expeditions should not be allowed to leave our ports, but unless that it was not part of the duty of the President to employ the army or navy to execute the laws, except as an auxiliary to the civil power.

After some further debate, the resolution was laid over.

Mr. Badger's resolution, regulating the admission of persons to the Senate chamber, was taken up.

Mr. Sumner moved to include among the persons admitted, "the editors of the daily papers of the City of Washington;" which amendment was rejected.

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Several minor bills and resolutions were presented, and their immediate passage urged for special reasons; when, upon the presentation by Mr. Carruthers, from the Committee on Commerce, of a bill for the construction of a railroad through the public lands at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., Mr. Mace, and Mr. Jones of Tennessee, moved to lay the bill on the table.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, thought the business of the House was greatly expedited by putting bills involving no doubtful principle directly upon their passage. The practice of referring caused the accumulation of bills, which are finally neglected, or disposed of without proper attention, at the end of the session.

Mr. Millson thought the practice of referring bills to the Committee of the Whole was wise and judicious, and should be rigidly adhered to. Great abuses arise through the violation of it. The House always had occasion to repent of a disregard of this practice. Mr. Millson quoted the words of Jefferson making an appropriation for the support of the Military Academy at West Point.

Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, replied the appropriation, in an elaborate, earnest, and energetic speech. He believed in the progress of the human race, and deplored the existence of the spirit of war. It was a horrible thing, but a necessary one, and inconsistent with our character for civilization, and our professions of being guided by the principles of the Prince of Peace.

Mr. Cutting said there was a period, very recent in the history of this country, when gentlemen from the South found no difficulty in who at the North stood by them, through good repute and through bad, at a time when a storm swept over the whole North such as had never been known in the history of any nation, and the rights of the States, and true to themselves as the South was to itself. [Great and long-continued applause.]

Was there any gentleman from any Southern State who then rose in his place for the purpose of reading Gulliver's travels as a lecture to the North? He asked this in all gingerness, saying those men who, under circumstances that were enough to quail the stoutest heart, stood by the principles of the Union, and insisted that the people of each State and of each Territory should do what they themselves were doing at the North—govern themselves in their own domestic affairs, and by their own judgment? And now, in this short space of time, gentlemen from the South had already forgotten the noble party spirit of its patriots, who stood by them and nailed their colors to the mast at a time when the ship of State appeared to be upon the point of sinking!

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"My voice is still for war," were the words of a Roman and a Pagan two thousand years ago, and should not now be repeated.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, supported by Mr. Orr, who appealed to the Speaker to know if Mr. S. was in order, alleging that he was not speaking to the question of the appropriation.

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When the bill was finally read, the House adjourned, Mr. Smith, of Alabama, having the floor.

Senate, Jan. 18, 1854.

A large number of petitions of a private character were presented and referred.

Mr. Pratt, from the Judiciary Committee, to which an inquiry had been referred, made a report adverse to the constitutional power of submitting cause of action to arbitration as at common law.

A bill for the relief of Servis P. Willis, late the paymaster of the army, was reported and passed.

Mr. Cooper introduced a bill granting land to the State of Pennsylvania, to aid in the completion of the Sunbury and Erie Railroad, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. Weller thought this application for land for railroads came with a bad grace from Pennsylvania, when her citizens were now in open hostility to all communication by other States across her territory. Her officers were in open hostility to the laws, to the General Government, to the decrees of the State and Federal courts; they had imprisoned the United States marshal, the district attorney, and the judges of the United States court in the matter. They still continued their outrages, and carried on the work of destruction, by burning bridges, tearing and destroying property. This application came with a bad grace from Pennsylvania, until she had done something to put down these Erie rioters. He was for no land being appropriated to be no disposition to put down the rioters; but in Philadelphia and in other places a strong sympathy for them had been expressed. The Governor himself had written to them, expressing his sympathy for them. If the grant was to be made, he hoped it would be done with a condition that Pennsylvania would put down the rioters.

Mr. Cooper replied, contending that the true history of the Erie riots was not yet fully written; that when the true history of the matter was known, there would appear to have been insults and provocations towards the people of Erie, which, for the sake of peace, they had not resented. He thought that time would show that the aggravation and wrong were not on the part of the people of Erie, but of others. In saying this, he did not intend to say a word to encourage a spirit of resistance to the laws.

Mr. Wade said, if the people of Erie were right, it was not necessary for them to take the adjudicated the matter against them. But this rioting was not a new thing in Pennsylvania; the whiskey insurrections were instances of it. The bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. Pettit, the question of Mr. Phelps's right to hold a seat in the Senate from Vermont was postponed to Tuesday next, in consequence of the illness and consequent absence of Mr. Phelps.

Mr. Everett introduced a bill for the relief of Captain A. Kollet; which was considered and passed.

Mr. Fitzpatrick submitted a resolution, directing an inquiry, by the Judiciary Committee, as to the expediency of providing by law for the allowances to be paid to the United States judicial officers in Alabama. A debate ensued, in which Mr. Fitzpatrick, in making the inquiry apply generally to the allowances to such officers in all the States, was discussed, and, after being amended in that particular, was adopted.

On motion by Mr. Mallory, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill for the relief of the Pensacola Navy Yard hospital at Saint Marks, Florida; and the bill was passed.

A bill for the relief of Charles Cooper and Company of Bangor, Maine, a bill for the relief of James Dunning, a bill for the relief of Rebecca Freeman, and a bill to reimburse the corporation of Washington for moneys expended on account of the first regiment of New York volunteers, were severally considered and passed.

And then the Senate adjourned.

House of Representatives, Jan. 18, 1854.

A communication from, the Superintendent of Public Printing was presented, giving an estimate of the cost of printing and paper for the year ending June 30, 1854; which, after some debate, was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

The House resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, presented yesterday by Mr. Parker, recommending the reference to a joint committee of the proposition of an amendment of the Constitution, in the mode of electing the President and Vice President of the United States, by which the People shall vote without the agency of electors; which was adopted.

Mr. Stanton, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a resolution, asking information of the Executive respecting the buildings used by the United States courts and the United States districts, and what is needed with reference to them.

In consideration of a bill for the relief of Col. Benjamin S. Roberts, of the United States army, occupied much of the time of the House, and was finally passed.

Mr. Ralph Wilkins, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the resolution providing for changing the mode of electing the President and Vice President of the United States, so as to permit the people to vote without the medistion of electors, made a report favoring the proposition, accompanied with a constitutional amendment for that purpose.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill granting land to the State of Illinois in aid of the construction of a railroad from Chicago to Cairo.

Mr. Richardson urged its immediate passage.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, and Mr. Fuller, also advocated the bill; but no action on the message was opposed by Mr. Smith, of Virginia, who did not approve of extending Federal patronage any further than was absolutely necessary, and thought California a quantum she would next be asked for, with all its expensive concomitants.

Mr. Disney, of Ohio, supported the pending motion, and argued the desirableness and necessity of the proposed bill, explaining how dependent such cities as Quincy are upon the great thoroughfare which they are now forced to import their foreign merchandise. The bill was finally put upon its passage, and passed.

The House then took up the bill yesterday reported from the Committee on the Whole, making an appropriation for the support of the Military Academy at West Point.

Mr. Smith, of New York, moved the appropriation, in an elaborate, earnest, and energetic speech. He believed in the progress of the human race, and deplored the existence of the spirit of war. It was a horrible th